

# PEACE NEWS

No. 195.

LONDON, FRIDAY, MARCH 8, 1940

2d.

## NEGOTIATE PEACE NOW

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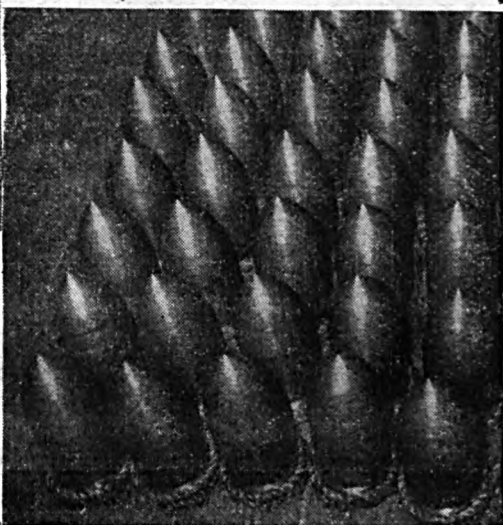


### TWO STUDIES IN PERSPECTIVE

Above: A Great War cemetery near Ypres.

Right: Shells in a British munitions factory.

. . . MEANS



## Accept Neutrals' Offers to Mediate—Pacifist Challenge

**TO** focus and express the growing desire of the large number of people who want the war stopped at once, the Peace Pledge Union will hold tomorrow (Saturday) a mass meeting in the Queen's Hall, London, to put "The Case for a Negotiated Peace."

The PPU believes that a negotiated peace is both possible and essential, and that this is the psychological moment to demand it. The meeting follows on the expressed readiness of the neutrals to assist in making such a peace possible; it coincides with the visit of Mr. Sumner Welles; it will provide the opportunity to show pacifists' positive and practical answer to those who assert that they are abusing freedom or acting disloyally. It is hoped, therefore, that the meeting will be attended largely by non-pacifists.

London has been chosen because the PPU wants to challenge public opinion in the metropolis—without any desire to minimize the importance of meetings in the Provinces. Indeed, the PPU is trying to arrange similar meetings in at least some of the provincial centres.

Experience since the war started has proved that people are increasingly glad of the opportunity to hear about pacifism at public meetings. At the Queen's Hall they will hear the case for a negotiated peace put by the following famous speakers:

**LORD PONSONBY**, who in the last war pressed for a peace by negotiation and was completely justified by the tragic consequences of the peace by dictation which was preferred. His book, *Falsehood in War-Time*, is a "best-seller." He is a regular contributor to *Peace News* and an interview with him appears on page two of this week's issue.

**JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY**, who has added to his world-wide reputation by his recent broadcasts. His usual weekly article also appears on page two of this week's *Peace News*.

**MARY GAMBLE**, chairman of the Women's Peace Campaign, who will represent the desire of the women of all countries for that security for their home and children which can only be obtained by negotiation and destroyed by violence.

**DR. ALEX WOOD** will be in the chair. This will be the first big public meeting at which he has taken the chair since he was appointed National Chairman of the PPU.

★

If you are not a pacifist, come to the Queen's Hall tomorrow. If you are, make certain that at least one non-pacifist friend comes to the meeting; and be ready to go out on a poster parade to press outside in the streets the same demand for A NEGOTIATED PEACE.

Make a note of—

**The date:** Tomorrow, Saturday;

**Place:** Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W.1;

**Time:** 3 p.m.,

and if you want to make sure of a seat get a ticket (2s. 6d. or 1s.) from the PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, or from the Queen's Hall. Admission to unreserved seats will be free—but not guaranteed.

## A Negotiated Peace Now – or a War-Ruined World?

# IT DEPENDS UPON YOU!

says Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.

**EVERYBODY** wants peace, but many folk are afraid that, if negotiations were begun now, Hitlerism would secure a new lease of life and another war would occur in a few years' time.

I am sure that if this war continues for two years and finishes by the economic exhaustion and starvation of Germany, with a Peace Treaty dictated by the Allies, another war is **CERTAIN** within the lifetime of the next generation.

A very terrible book has just been published by the well-known author, Arthur Bryant, called *Unfinished Victory*. Bryant is no pacifist, but he shows relentlessly from documented evidence how Hitlerism took rise in Germany.

### A Horrible Story

Indeed, as one reads the dreadful pages describing Germany's starvation in the last two years of the 1914-1918 war and of the even worse hunger and misery during the eight months' blockade following the armistice, and then of the inflation and the economic collapse of 1929-32, one can only come to the conclusion that Hitlerism was inevitable. If Adolf Hitler had not arisen someone like him (or worse) was bound to have taken control and introduced the totalitarian State.

The most distressing pages of the book are those describing how decent, kindly, normally-minded human beings in Germany became gradually converted into worse than wolves and wild beasts through chronic hunger, lack of fuel, lack of cleansing materials and the general breakdown of civilization.

What do you think of the spectacle of a crowd of men, including professional people like doctors, lawyers and university professors, waiting on the roadside for a

horse to fall down dead from starvation, and then rushing forward to hack from the carcass chunks of flesh that were devoured raw forthwith?

Worse than all was the hopeless outlook for the future, and the certainty, foretold by all the wiser economists (notably Mr. J. M. Keynes) that under the conditions imposed by Versailles Germany was bound to be chronically bankrupt and impoverished.

### Why Hitler?

The average German man and woman fear that if Hitler is overthrown or the war ends in defeat, then something like, perhaps something even worse than, the state of affairs following November, 1918, will recur. There would be no Hitler in Germany today had our government in the past been decent and reasonable and had it offered proper concessions (not "appeasement") to that country before Hitler secured by force what we ought to have offered through a sense of justice and humanity.

Do you remember what the Socialist Chancellor Stresemann said to our Foreign Office long before Hitler obtained power? "If you could have given me one real concession I could have won this generation of Germans for peace—for lasting peace. That you could not or you would not is my tragedy and your crime."

### What Next?

We intend again to starve Germany into submission by our blockade and to bring about victory by increasing the misery of the civilian population. The neutral observers who have been in Germany recently, say that the process will take from 12 months to two years at least. Others

say that by improving communications with Russia the exhaustion of the German people may be staved off indefinitely.

Anyhow, in the meanwhile there will come death and despair to thousands of homes in this country and, sooner or later, vindictive air raids and mass bombing. Is there a chance of a just or lasting peace, now or very soon?

Some time ago President Roosevelt sent for the heads of all the Protestant Churches in America. (He had previously had long conversations with the representative of the Pope.)

The Churches did not approach the President, but he sent for their leaders. He urged them to get in touch with their

(Continued on page 8)



Dr. Salter

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# AN "INSULT" TO CHRIST?

By John Middleton Murry

SIR HUGH WALPOLE, in the *Daily Telegraph* of March 4, discovers "an insult to the founder of the Christian religion" in the fact that Lord Tavistock is a member of a body which calls itself The British Council for Christian Settlement in Europe. Of this body I know nothing. I am concerned with the argument. The argument is that "the Nazi government is confessedly the active and determined enemy of the Christian religion"; therefore, it is an insult to Christ that anyone should propose to make peace with it.

In the first place, we note that by this logic the present British government has been engaged in insulting "the founder of the Christian religion" as hard as it possibly can. It has actually concluded an alliance with the Turkish government; nor would it be at all averse, we suppose, from concluding another with the government of Japan. No doubt Sir Hugh's Christian conscience has been gravely perturbed by our invidious traffic with these open enemies of the Christian faith; but he should have given vent to his indignation before. Owing to his dilatoriness, those who are unfamiliar with his religious convictions may reach the erroneous conclusion that he regards the activities of the peace-maker as an insult to "the founder of the Christian religion."

On second thoughts, this conclusion may not be erroneous after all. Perhaps Sir

Hugh is subtler than my naive mind expects him to be. Indeed, I did wonder vaguely why a writer of his talent should use that ugly periphrasis: "The founder of the Christian religion." Jesus, or Christ, is so much simpler. But, of course, it is not quite the same. One does not care to imagine the agony on Christ's face if he were to contemplate (as I suppose he is doing) the behaviour of those who profess the religion which he did not found, but which was founded upon him, and of which Sir Hugh has constituted himself the crusader and champion. To that religion probably it is intolerable that anyone should take courage from and act upon Christ's declaration that peace-makers are blessed.

But if we leave the unconscious "founder of the Christian religion" out of it, and stick to the conscious Jesus, or the conscious Christ, of the gospels, there can be no doubt that a sincere effort to make peace would be welcome enough to him. He would not be greatly disturbed that the German government was not over-friendly to the Christian religion, nor very grateful for Sir Hugh's zeal to preserve him from insult. Indeed, it is conceivable that he would be, not insulted—one can hardly imagine him feeling that—but grieved by the nature of Sir Hugh's equivocal concern for him.

"THEREFORE"

## The Importance of Imagination

By WILFRED WELLOCK

THIS country is asking the German people to do what to it is an astonishingly simple and obvious thing: throw over Hitler and trust the British and French Governments.

Leaders of every political party in Britain can't understand why this doesn't happen. There are reasons, however, and a little imagination would reveal them. To that end project your minds over to Berlin, for a while, and enter into conversation with a typical working-man.

To your leading question, asking for trust in Chamberlain's promise to establish a New Europe after the war, I think he might reply as follows:

"It sounds beautiful, but is not the phrase threadbare?"

"Yes, we admit that. But we mean it this time."

"I am glad. What are the proofs? New worlds have their harbingers. Where are yours?"

"In his speech. . ."

"Pardon me. Speeches no longer mean anything to us Germans. Deeds, please. By the way, what is this latest news about Britain and France making the fullest use of the present blockade of Germany in order to capture our European and world markets? Will these markets be cheerfully returned, afterwards, when Europe lies in

ruins or exhausted? Nations facing bankruptcy will fight for markets more keenly than ever."

"But see how Hitler is treating the Czechs and the Poles."

"Yes, it is terrible, and we do not approve. Did you approve of Amritsar, and of the imprisonment of 60,000 of Gandhi's followers a few years ago? What does the Indian National Congress think of your rule, or the Arabs of Palestine, or the natives of your West Indian Colonies?"

"But the Nazi treatment of the Jews!"

"Again we do not approve. But world Jewry helped you in the Great War in return for a promise of a Jewish home in Palestine. But it is reported that another war bargain is now to modify the former one. Is that true?"

"Do you deny the charges made in our White Paper on the Nazi treatment of minorities?"

"No, and most of us regret them. You published that Paper, but has not your Government declined to publish the Report of its own Commissions on conditions in your West Indian Colonies?"

"You support Hitler, then?"

"Yes and no. Try to realize what we have gone through."

"We had two years of starvation before the Great War ended. The blockade, as you know, was continued afterwards. After six months of it your Mr. Churchill could say 'Now is the time to settle.' We signed the Treaty, but peace did not return. Food rationing continued for several more years."

"Then came the worst tragedy of all, National Bankruptcy, when the savings of a life-time weren't worth 2s. 20 marks to the £ in 1914, 230 in 1920, 2,400 in 1922, and millions in 1923/24."

"From 1926/29 there was some improvement, then came the world slump and the return to poverty more hopeless than ever. We had over 8,000,000 unemployed."

"In that crisis you and France closed your Empires against us. Ottawa outdid Versailles. The Great War still raged."

H. G. WELLS

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J. MIDDLETON MURRY

C. E. M. JOAD

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## A Pacifist Commentary

### Interview With Lord Ponsonby: Why He Withdrew a Motion

Edited by "Observer"

FOR some weeks Lord Ponsonby has had a motion on the Order Paper of the House of Lords, "to call attention to Ministerial speeches with regard to the Government's policy for the prosecution of the war; and to move for papers."

I asked Lord Ponsonby why it has now been withdrawn: "Would it not have been an excellent opportunity of pressing for peace by negotiation, and referring to Mr. Welles's forthcoming visit?"

"Yes," replied Lord Ponsonby, "undoubtedly it would have been. I had a great deal to say about the Government's uncompromising attitude and apparent refusal to entertain any idea of entering into negotiation to prevent a continuance of the war and the heavy casualties it must involve."

"Then why did you withdraw it, knowing the increasing volume of opinion which would have supported you?"

"You may remember that I first of all asked for a Secret Session for the discussion of the motion. In this I failed, although I considered that this would have been

the most appropriate way for me to say all I wanted. I then made up my mind to make my speech in open session and I became engrossed in the telling arguments I had prepared—more especially my first regard for my country and my fellow countrymen and how so heavy a price to be paid in British lives could not be justified unless there were an absolute certainty of a just and lasting settlement as a result of military victory."

"And not another Versailles?"

"Exactly. But it was brought to my attention that my speech, however effective it might be, would hardly be reported. The important thing would be the Government reply."

"But you would not mind being attacked?"

"Certainly not. I remembered only too well the wise attempts I and others made for peace by negotiation in the last war and the abuse snowed on us inside the House of Commons and blows and rotten eggs outside. But I did feel that I ought to pay more attention to the effect of the Government reply on the international situation and I came to the conclusion that at this particular moment the bolting by the Government of the door against any suggestion of a negotiated settlement might be absolutely fatal."

### Government's Attitude

"But does this mean that you think the Government are anyhow determined to continue the war, however long it may take?"

"I will put it this way. I have come to the conclusion that they are aware of the heavy price which would have to be paid. They are determined to prevent another Versailles. Most of them do not believe in a knockout blow policy. But for the moment they are under the impression that a continued declaration and exhibition of superior force is the most effective way of preparing the ground for the assurance they seek before entering into conference."

"Do you agree with that?"

"No. I think it is dangerous drifting and the actual momentum of war may drive them further down the wrong course."

"Then why not say so?"

"Because I do not think just now that they are impervious to the influences of a saner policy. I was certainly thinking too much of the force of my own arguments. But I came finally to the conclusion that at such a critical moment as the present, a bad Government reply insisting on the present war policy and peremptorily refusing any alternative, a declaration which for the time being they would feel compelled to give, might be a fatal setback to all hopes for the future. So, after hesitating to the last moment, I withdrew my motion. I think I was right. Other opportunities are bound to arise."

### War on Russia?

MORE voices are now being raised in favour of war against Russia.

With complete disregard of the cost in human lives which would be involved, the writer of a letter in the *Daily Telegraph*, on Monday, argued that such a war would "swing the neutrals over to our side." For this and strategic reasons he urged immediate action.

In the same issue was a remarkable dispatch from the *Telegraph's* special correspondent in Ankara (Turkey), declaring that Russian defence works now being hastened forward on the northern shores of the Black Sea "are not, as has been alleged, in readiness for possible Turkish and Allied retaliation against a Russian advance in the Caucasus and Asia. Rather are they measures against a possible Turkish offensive."

The increase in the Allied armies in the Near East—which I discussed here recently—was, declared this correspondent, "thought to portend a possible Allied-Turkish offensive in the spring in the Black Sea with, as its main objective, the Baku oil-fields and the pipeline to Batum. These are, for all practical purposes, Russia's main source of petrol supply."

Fortunately many people are awake to the danger of the war spreading. Mr. Lloyd George recently uttered a warning, and this week a letter to the press, signed by a number of prominent progressives, pointing out that not only would "quite incalculable risks" be involved, but unity at home would be destroyed by any action interpreted as an attack upon Socialism.

For pacifists the objection to war on Russia is the same as their objection to all war: it is wrong and it will solve none of the problems facing the world today.

The danger can only be averted by an awakened public opinion. As "The Plain Man" pointed out in *Peace News's* last week, the Labour movement prevented a war against Russia in 1920; it can do so today if it will. So can the mass of ordinary men and women if they make their voices heard in time.

### PRINTING and PUBLICITY

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### Peace Year Book

Owing to the special circumstances only a reduced issue of the *Peace Year Book* has been published this year, but the new edition contains the usual directories of peace and progressive organizations at home and abroad, and the bibliographies covering peace books and pamphlets issued during 1939. The *Year Book* has come to be regarded as an essential part of the equipment of national and local peace organizations and of the individual peace worker. The new edition costs 6d. per copy (postage 1d. extra), but the publishers announce that the new issue and the 1939 *Year Book*, which contains a considerable amount of information on international questions which is still topical, will be supplied together for a composite price of 1s. 3d. post free.

The *Peace Year Book* is published by the National Peace Council at 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.



## LETTERS

## A Just Peace Now

WOULD Mr. Middleton Murry's "just peace now" include in its terms the liberation by Germany of the Czechs and of the part of Poland annexed by Germany? At present Herr Hitler has repeatedly declared that nothing will make him give these up. The liberation of these nations is the main alleged object of the Allies.

I am not sure if Mr. Murry and others who would like peace now would make it a condition or not. If so, I doubt if they will get it. I should like peace now myself; but I prefer to face facts and call it "an unjust peace now," since the most unjust peace can scarcely be so unjust as a just war.

But the cry of "a just peace now" strikes one as a contradiction in terms and a piece of wishful thinking, while Herr Hitler remains in his present temper.

Can we not be frankly unillusioned and admit that there is no good or just way out of the dilemma? All are extremely bad and extremely cruel and unjust. It is a choice of injustices. Are we to leave these unhappy conquered peoples to their present misery and enslavement at the hands of a spiteful and pitiless enemy, whose methods are engendering in them a hate that may never die, or are we to inflict the barbarism and immorality and cruelties of a protracted war on many millions of innocent people, as is the present plan?

There is no room for smugness in this dreadful choice, and none for talk of "justice." It is an unjust world. But I think pacifists should all decide which injustice they want. Only if we see any reasonable hope of wringing the freedom and restoration of these two conquered lands out of their conqueror can we talk of "a just peace now."

ROSE MACAULAY.

Mr. Middleton Murry says: "If, as it seems, our Government is completely devoid of the sense of a responsibility to European civilization; if it can look at the situation only through the blinkers of a parochial nationalism—then for heaven's sake, let us get another Government." The trouble, surely, is not that they are devoid of that sense, but that they think they are crusading in that very spirit. It is our job to enlighten them, not gird at them.

W. R. PAGE.

127, Fellows Road, N.W.3.

## National Peace Petition

A few weeks ago you were good enough to publish a letter of mine in which I made brief proposals for a National Peace Petition. I was immediately inundated with correspondence and as there appears to be very real support for such a scheme, I should like to put my detailed proposals before your readers. They are as follows:—

1. A National Peace Petition to be organized by the PPU with the support of all organizations favouring Peace by negotiation.
2. A National Peace Petition Committee to be formed in every constituency for the purpose of organizing the collection of signatures. Every local committee to aim at securing at least 5,000 signatures. This would mean 3,000,000 signatures throughout the country.
3. Every supporter to aim at securing at least 25 signatures to his or her Petition Form.
4. The Petition to be worded as follows:—  
"We, the undersigned, demand that the Government take the necessary steps towards the early conclusion of a negotiated peace."
5. The Petition to be presented in Parliament.

LEONARD F. WISE.

480, High Road, Leytonstone, E.11.

## Federal Union

Not all federalists accept the notion that there are aggressive nations, indeed one great asset of the federal idea is that (according to one interpretation) force would be used against individuals only.

But a cardinal objection to the FU movement here is its insistence upon what it calls democracy. Naturally such insistence would invite authoritarian States to form a rival alliance.

It seems unwarrantable to assume that the present governments of Germany, Italy and other dictatorships would necessarily reject federalism, provided the scheme implied equality of treatment. Questions of capitalism, parliamentary systems, &c., should not be allowed to obscure the chief aim, which is the elimination of the legal right of governments to make war.

Not only the people in every land but also every existing government should be asked to co-operate.

JOHN NIBB.

If we are really bent on establishing peace we must work for the control of policy within our own country and not hand over our control to a central body too anonymous and too distant to be held responsible for the results which we would suffer.

The League of Nations failed because it was premature in conception. Federal Union will fail (in OUR purpose) likewise; it will enchain us all in an unbreakable control within which individual freedom will become a myth.

Let us first demonstrate a working democracy by ourselves taking control of our own policy.

DOROTHY M. ROBERTS.

"Greengates," Hillside Drive, Woolton, Liverpool.

I am a member of the PPU. It is not enough merely to talk about a New World in which war and the threat of war finds no place—the world needs replanning and reorganizing and I submit that Federal Union is the only practicable solu-

tion. I use the word practicable as I regard so-called "functional Unions" as perfectly absurd because so downright impracticable.

A world which technical factors are welding increasingly into a single economic system requires, it is obvious, a single political organization to give effect to the underlying economic unity.

The economic and disarmament problems besetting a Federal Union will not be solved if socialists and pacifists in general studiously remain outside the Federal Union movement.

HOWARD FOX.

South East London Area Organizer

Federal Union.

11 Mona Road, Peckham, S.E.15.

Mr. Gerald Bailey, in his recent article in *Peace News* does well to point out that the use of military force is not an essential principle of Federal Union, but only that, if military force is used at all, it shall be used only by the federal government.

It appears to me that the pacifist who opposes all war may quite well support Federal Union, firstly, because it has the best and quickest chance of producing a state of affairs which will transform our world of frustration and degradation into one of co-operation and genuine freedom; and secondly, because he can still continue to work for the adoption by the federal government of pacifism.

RONALD H. GANDY.

15 Pendle Road, Streatham, S.W.16.

Your contributor, Stephen Usherwood, states "... the people must refuse to bear arms ... But they must also invent new methods of their own, independent of governments, for the reconstruction of international society."

May I point out that these new methods are provided by World Union, which seeks to create not a league of nations (i.e. governments), but of Peoples?

L. B. TEMPLE.

Hon. Sec., World Union,

British Section.

3 St. George's Place, Brighton 1.

## C.O.s Before Tribunals

There is a danger that some of our CO applicants may be misled by the passage in J. D. Maynard's letter which reads: "A good many reply, 'Thou shalt not kill,' as if they thought that was a saying of Jesus."

But surely it is not wrong to think so, for Jesus quoted with approval this old Mosaic law and so did St. Paul. (See Matthew 5, 21 and Romans 13, 9).

WILLIAM NIVEN.

5 Bradda Avenue, Burnside.

## Points From Letters

## PROPAGANDA

In many articles written it has been suggested that should England become passive and lay down her arms to a man, Hitler would not attack an unarmed nation. No! but his armies would promptly march in. Such an effortless victory would so intoxicate him that he would endeavour to conquer the world.

This view seems to me weak and impracticable. It is the people of the aggressor nations themselves who must keep the peace for all time in their hands. To this end we should strive. Propaganda on a vast scale must be spread inside Germany. The seeds should be sown of equal rights for minorities.

SIDNEY LEDERMAN, Neasden, N.W.10.

## B.U.F. AND RUSSIA

In your issue of March 1, "Observer" is unwittingly incorrect in suggesting in his notes on the Silverstone election: That British Union would accept in principle a war against Russia.

Mosley has said (and written) that British Union would no more tolerate war against Russia than against any other power, unless Russia attacked the British Empire. All members of the PPU presumably disagree with BU peace policy because the latter does envisage war in order to defend the integrity of the Empire.—F. EVANS, Taunton, Somerset.

## MR. SUMNER WELLES

A correspondent suggests that your readers write to Mr. Sumner Welles wishing him "every success in his mission." What is this mission? It is Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal extended on an international scale. It is a scheme to save Capitalism from destruction. There can be no just peace while the present regimes operate in Britain, France and Germany. Only peoples' governments in those countries can negotiate a just peace.—WILL HAYDEN, London, N.5.

## ABSOLUTISTS

John Cleary-Baker asks people who will not comply with the findings of the Tribunals with regard to alternative service to communicate with him. As I see it, the act of appearing before it implies that the person who has applied for exemption is willing to accept the findings of the Tribunal.—FRANK F. GONLYSON, Didsbury, Manchester.

## CONTACT THE GOVERNMENT

I have heard many outstanding pacifists say that there surely is some point of contact we could make with Hitler in order to call a conference and work together to restore peace. That may be a very good idea, but I can't see why we don't find a similar point of contact with the British Government! Malcolm MacDonald seems to be becoming Colony-conscious, and trying to do something for the West Indies. Then, in *The Times*, there has been a great deal of correspondence following the leader on Religion and the Nation. Another day, I read two letters regarding the German prisoners of war in this country at the present time. It was suggested that Christian people should get in touch with these prisoners, and give fellowship, and teach them where their own national policy is so wrong. When we find anything to praise, however small, let us praise.

ELIZABETH S. SMITH, Chislehurst, Kent.

## Do Pacifists Miss "The Point"?

IN my article of January 12 I said, "Personally I cannot see any direct analogy between the international situation and the robbery of a private person..."

So I do not feel under any obligation to apologize to those people who, having taken the article literally word for word, are now saying that my argument was typical of pacifist arguments in missing the point. I merely tackled one of the multitudinous aspects of the situation. Here is another.

As I see it the particular point which worries most people is that of German cruelty, and while they are not altogether in favour of war, and feel somewhat uneasy about it ethically they still feel that something should be done to counteract the present state of things in Central Europe. During the past months countless people have said to me, "Of course we are all pacifists at heart, but..." and then comes "the point."

## The Pacifist Conscience

EVIDENTLY, the pacifist conscience, which I prefer to call consciousness, lies not in the mind which can be influenced by propaganda and torn by conflicting loyalties, but in the heart which is intuitive, not reasoning and arguing and doubting but knowing.

Most people are pacifists then to some degree, some whole-hearted, some half-hearted, the quality and quantity of their pacifism tempered by the individual outlook.

Now I am going to shock some pacifists by saying that, as pacifism is right for one man, militarism is right for another; it depends on the individual. Dick Sheppard saw this when he said, "If you can fight, do."

Probably neither the militarist nor the pacifist is wholly right, for it is impossible for man in his limited state of consciousness to see more than part of the whole. But to that part he does see he must be faithful.

I honour those who truly fight for what they believe to be goodness' sake, for freedom, unselfish love of country, protection of the weak, but at the same time I claim the freedom to stand by my own convictions which are right for me; right for me—let me stress that. I do not speak for other pacifists.

## Spiritual Forces

IN 1914 we made a great experiment. We tried having a war to end war, and so far as I know it was the first war of its kind.

It was not fought entirely in vain, because the sorrow of it purged humanity of much dross, and now we see a curious result in the present war, which is being fought without that enthusiasm which formerly characterized all wars. The mental attitude to war has changed.

Now let me quote a passage from *Love For A Country*, by Rom Landau:

"Before I took my leave Mr. Hore-Belisha surprised me by saying, 'You probably know as well as I do that Government policies and armaments

can never be more than part of the job. Isn't there some spiritual power in the world that acts irrespective of what the Government may do or may not do? And haven't we got some means of collaborating with it?'

"Do you suggest that you really believe in such spiritual forces as, for example, prayer?"

"I know little about these things, but I see no reason why I shouldn't believe in them. All I can tell you is this: I am convinced that the peaceful solution of the September crisis (1938) was not unconnected with the prayers and the concentrated spiritual efforts of millions of people. Just as I believe that culture ought to play a far more important part in our national life, so I believe that spiritual efforts of a kind which I don't claim to understand, must supplement the more material measures taken by the Government..."

## Greater than Hitler

WE used to say, "Man proposes and God disposes." This is still true.

Who dares to say that Germany unhindered would be allowed to conquer the world? Because Hitler said so in *Mein Kampf*? But is there not a power greater than Hitler, or are we identifying him, as German youth is taught to do, with Christ? Hitler is not omnipotent.

Again, if Hitler's methods of force are evil, why do we try to combat his force with that very force which we deplore? He makes the Poles listen to his sort of reason, then we make the Germans listen to our sort.

If on the other hand his methods rise, as so many say, from a mental complaint, should it not be treated on the mental plane? The Buddha said, "Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth! For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases by love."

Having said all this I am not unmindful of the fact that even if Germany is laid waste and Hitler is no longer a dominant figure in history, wars will not cease while it is possible for one country to prosper at the expense of others, while colonies are exploited, while science is prostituted to base ends, while there is class hatred, while armaments can be manufactured at a profit, while there is economic slavery.

When we are prepared to spend six million pounds a day and to put all our concentrated national resources to constructive and not destructive purposes we shall begin to build a great new civilization, meanwhile each individual must build for the future as seems best to him, and leave the rest to God.

M. FURNESS

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## The Voice of Peace in the Labour Movement

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## The Voice of Peace in the Labour Movement



# GIVE NEW HOPE TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE

A GREAT many people who write to me about a recent book of mine\*, say that they have worked for the Peace Pledge Union, and I welcome an opportunity of trying to explain quite frankly what I conceive to be the relations between pacifism and the ideas I have tried to put forward.

If I might go into history a little bit, I always agreed with the pacifist that there could be no final abolition of war until the whole world were convinced of the manifest and utterly obvious truth that there is no quarrel which can be so serious as to be worth fighting for.

Further, if one of two parties to a quarrel (maybe a quarrel trumped up by himself) was not aware of this truth and proceeded to commit an act of aggression, I always thought that the most effective resistance would be the resistance of an utterly disciplined nation which just presented itself in its civilian clothes, and said, "Here we are, shoot us, starve us, torture us, do what you will, we will not resist, but neither will we work for you or pay your taxes or do anything else at all."

As a politician I felt, however, that I had to present an immediate answer to the immediate problem presented by a nation which had thrown up a government which thought it worth while to make an attack, and a victim not sufficiently disciplined to resist passively.

## Collective Security

I CONFESS, in the circumstances in which I came into politics in 1924, the Collective Security solution seemed to me the only possible answer.

There you had the paradox that IF a sufficient number of nations had made it clear that they would fight if necessary, then fighting would not have been necessary. If this had been done once—say in the case of Manchuria—if the nations of the world had once seen that they had nothing to fear from the strength of their neighbour, nothing to hope from his weakness, then I believed myself that they would have begun to see that piling up strength was not worth the money and we would have been heading for world pacifism.

I may have been mistaken. But in any case it is quite clear that we waited until there were far too few nations offering to stand firm, and now I have to seek the best answer I can to the actual resulting situation.

\* *Unser Kampf* ("Our Struggle"). Penguin Special, 6d.



SIR RICHARD ACLAND, M.P.

says  
**SIR RICHARD ACLAND, M.P.,**  
in the first of two contributions to our series "Speaking Personally"

THE question I ask myself is this. Do we regard all the Germans, both now and in the future, as one solid homogeneous lump, every German being just like every other German, and all of them being for all time inevitably just the same as they are now?

And arising out of that question, is it our purpose today just to wade on into this present business until we have bombed and starved and shot so many Germans that at last they all unitedly say, "All right, we're beaten. We admit it. We hate you and detest you. But we just can't stand this any more. Do what you like with us, only for heaven's sake stop bombing and starving and shooting?"

Is that our war aim? If I asked this question in the House of Commons (and if by some miracle it happened to be full when I spoke) I would receive an affirmative answer from a considerable number of members opposite.

But I answer both questions in the negative.

## What We Must Do

WE have allowed an evil thing to triumph in Germany. We have allowed it to

possess the minds and hearts, and the desires of millions of Germans.

But against this every German over forty was politically mature at the time of the last election when more than half the people voted against Hitler. These people must remember something.

In my view our war aim—the task to which we should address the strength of our minds—is so to conduct ourselves that the better elements in Germany can gain the upper hand.

How shall we do that?

In my view two things are required.

It is here that I express my frank difference from the pacifist case as I understand it. The first thing which I fear is required is that we should resist the worst now.

I do not think we give the best elements in Germany a chance even of remembering what they once knew, let alone of being listened to by their young friends, unless the worst begin to wonder whether after all they are going to get away with this thing on their own lines.

It is no use our deceiving ourselves into thinking that fears of defeat are creeping over the Germans already. I believe they

are bored with the war as we are. But a close friend who heard Hitler's recent speech said our press reports to the effect that it was weak and unself-confident were sadly misleading. He said he had never heard Hitler so brim full of confidence.

## Hold Out Hope

BUT it is not enough to give the best Germans a chance of being heard. We have to give them something to say.

The German people, long after they have ceased to hope for an easy victory, will go on fighting for years and years and years unless something happens which makes them understand beyond any possibility of doubt that this time we are not going to do what we did last time—nor anything in any sort or kind of way even remotely like what we did last time.

How can this be done? Not by words. We used words last time. Only by deeds. But what deeds?

(Sir Richard will answer his question in a further article.—Ed.)

## "NO SELFISH ENDS"

"The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundation of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves. . . . We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind."—from President Wilson's speech to the American Congress, April 2, 1917.

"The real reason that the war that we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them."—from President Wilson's speech in the Coliseum at St. Louis, USA, Sept. 5, 1919.

## Continuing our Federal Union discussion . . .

## Dr. C. E. M. Joad replies

To the Editor.  
MAY I claim a little more of your space in which to tread on the lengths of coat which Mr. Usherwood has trailed so abundantly across the first page of your issue of February 23?

Regarded as a criticism of me, the trouble with Mr. Usherwood's article is that when it fits the present situation, his coat is also mine, while the point at which it ceases to be mine is also the point at which it fails to fit any conceivable situation.

Thus I agree that the Chinese, Abyssinians, Poles and so on would be much better off today, if they had never resisted by force of arms and I have said so. I agree that great national armaments do not give security and have said so. ("But, you say, their arms were not strong enough," writes Mr. Usherwood. If his invocation of "you" is only rhetorical, let it pass; but if "you" means me, then I cannot deny myself the pleasure of pointing out that I have never said any such thing, but have on many occasions said precisely the opposite, emphasizing that however great the strength of national arms, it will never be great enough to give security under the prevailing system of international anarchy.)

I agree again that you cannot keep a virile nation, e.g. Germany, down by force of arms, and have said so—in fact, at this point the words of Mr. Usherwood's argument had such a familiar ring that I went to the bookshelf and took down my *Why War?* to make quite sure they were not mine. Even now I am not quite sure.

Where, then, do we part company? Hating war, I want to prevent war, and am prepared to embrace any solution that offers the faintest hope of doing so. Accordingly, I support Federal Union as the only practicable proposal in the field. Mr. Usherwood also, presumably, wanting to prevent war, nevertheless finds himself precluded by his principles from taking any step which offers the slightest chance of doing what he wants. Having read through his article eagerly in the hope of discovering how he does propose to prevent it, I hope he will forgive me for saying that, now that I have come to the end of it, I haven't the faintest idea.

"The peoples must refuse," he says, "to bear arms in the service of governments." No doubt, but who is to make them refuse?

If they are pacifists, they will refuse as a matter of course. But what possible ground has Mr. Usherwood for supposing that they will become pacifists? In the last war there were some 16,000 conscientious objectors. In the present war, if our army runs to its scheduled 3 millions, there will be between 50 and 60 thousand; in other words, an increase of thirty odd thousand after 21 years' intensive and continuous pacifist propaganda. At this rate we shall have to wait for the prevention of war until the cows come home, only by that time, because of the wars which we have not prevented, there won't be any cows.

"Humane and skilful people" are to "unite for the purpose of repairing the vast damage already done." An admirable sentiment! May I amend to "Thinkers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your brains?" We haven't, have we? But we don't unite, do we? We didn't unite during the last 25 years; we were never more disunited than we are today, and I cannot see why we should be expected to do in the future what we have failed to do in the past.

The doctors and the teachers are to "build up an International Parliament of Labour and Service . . ." and so on. Really it is impossible to resist the temptation of asking Mr. Usherwood how he proposes to induce people to do these admirable things. Here we are in this year of disgrace 1940, all at one another's throats, and the only remedy he proposes is to say to people, "Dear people, please be humane, skilful, intelligent and leave one another's throats alone."

I can only reply that for my part I am not prepared to trust my throat and my future, and the throats and futures of those I care for, to the offchance of the peoples of the world suddenly discovering the good sense to listen to Mr. Usherwood, to remodel their conduct accordingly, to get rid of their war-mongering governments, and to lay down their arms. If he would only supply me with some ground, however faint, for supposing that they will do any

of these things, I should be delighted to listen to him.

Meanwhile, I am afraid I have no alternative but to charge him with failing to offer a policy for the prevention of war, failing to solve or even to envisage the problem of government—you will remember, sir, that peoples are to "invent quite new methods of their own, independent of governments, for the reconstruction of international society"—and above all, failing to disengage his head from the rosy clouds of idealistic optimism in which it is so delightfully for him, but so bootlessly for us, enshrouded.

(Dr. Joad will reply next week to Wilfred Wellock's article on Federal Union in our last issue.—Ed.)

## "CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS"

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# "Is It As Bad As All That?" SPOTLIGHT ON THE COLONIES

By Reginald Reynolds

THE suppression of information regarding what is happening in the British colonies is now so complete that the British Government will have itself to thank if some ugly rumours begin to float around.

Recently we were informed that the recommendations of the Royal Commission which visited the West Indies—the last (for the moment) of many—were to be accepted "in principle." The report on which they were based was not to be published, however.

In vain did Mr. Sorensen attempt to obtain an answer from Mr. MacDonald as to the reason for this. Was Mr. MacDonald aware, he asked, that he had twice evaded a perfectly plain question? Mr. MacDonald refused to be drawn. "He was afraid he could add nothing today," and a Member asked, "Is it as bad as all that?"

A week later Mr. MacDonald sprang another surprise on the country. This time it concerned Palestine. Palestine is not a colony in point of law. Indeed, it is one of those "A" Mandates which, according to Article 22 of the League Covenant, have reached

"a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory."

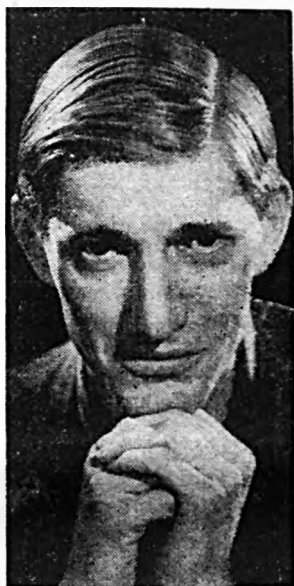
## Sham Independence

I need hardly point out, however, that the "independence" of Palestine has never been recognized, either "provisionally" or in any other way; that the people were never consulted as to their choice of a Mandatory; that the Mandatory Power, in fact, selected itself; that Palestine comes under the control of our Colonial Office and that the latest White Paper on "Colonial Development and Welfare" gives a jolt to the whole fiction. In it you will find the significant parenthesis, following the term "colonies": "in which term are included for the purpose of this statement protectorates and mandated territories."

So I am right enough in considering Palestine as a colony *de facto*, though the legal point, as to its constitutional status will require our attention again in a moment.

Mr. MacDonald's Palestine surprise was the issue of the Land Transfer Regulations. In the regulations themselves there is little to criticize—an independent Palestine would have made some such regulations many years ago. Land sales have no doubt profited both the Arab landlords who sold and the Jewish settlers who bought; but they have left in their trail a story of evicted Arab tenant farmers whose numbers, in the words of *The Times*, "threaten the disastrous swelling of a landless Arab proletariat."

What is really interesting is not that the



Reginald Reynolds

Government should have taken this action, but that it should have taken it at this time.

Our Government has an unfortunate habit of rarely moving forward unless it is somewhat aggressively pushed from behind. Yet we are continually assured that all is peaceful and happy in Palestine.

Hence the pointed question put to Mr. MacDonald by Major Cazalet, who said:

"Why has the right hon. gentleman chosen this particular moment, after six months of war and six months of peace in Palestine, for the first time for the last six years, when all sections of the community are working loyally with the Government in that country, to introduce a measure which will exacerbate Jewish opinion not only in Palestine but throughout the whole world?"

Why, indeed? Mr. MacDonald endeavoured to assure the House that everything in Palestine was just as the gallant major had described. The Arabs had suddenly swung round to frenzied enthusiasm for the Union Jack. Nevertheless (for fear they swung back again) this measure was urgent, so urgent he couldn't even wait for the League of Nations Council to consider it first. . . . And one finds oneself echoing the remarks made on the previous occasion—"Was it as bad as all that?"

## Army in Palestine

Mr. Atlee, Mr. Amery, and Sir Archibald Sinclair evidently thought that it was not. They were all of the opinion that the League was being slighted and flouted. They felt that it was proper to obtain the sanction of Geneva before it could be decided that the Arab peasants should not be driven off their land.

But in face of such a conscientious internationalism I found it curious that no-one asked whether the permission of Geneva had been sought before Palestine was turned into an armed camp by a belligerent Power.

Surely it is not pretended that the vast army now quartered in Palestine is exclusively intended for the defence of that country against an aggressor? One is driven to the conclusion that either this "sacred trust" for which we are responsible to the League and the people of Palestine, is being used as a base camp for our own military operations elsewhere, or that a very serious revolt, in certain circumstances, is threatened in Palestine itself. Is it as bad as all that?

## A Dangerous Doctrine

Whichever explanation is true—and I'm inclined to accept both—the fact remains that the unexplained and even unquestioned maintenance of large forces in Palestine is entirely unsatisfactory from every point of view. If we are not using Palestine illegally as a mere cog in our own war machine then we have a right to know and a duty to ask what is happening there which makes these sudden concessions on the land question an urgent diplomatic necessity and also necessitates the maintenance of an enormous standing army on the spot?

I do not often agree with the *Evening Standard*; but its leader of February 21, on the suppression of the West Indies report, to which I referred at the beginning, aptly sums up what needs to be said with regard to that question, the situation in Palestine, and the general colonial position:

"Those responsible, it seems, are hesitant in making known facts which might be used by German propagandists. . . . This is a plausible doctrine. We believe that it is also highly dangerous."

# P.P.U. and Lord Tavistock's Peace Proposals

## "NO PART IN OBTAINING THEM"

IN connexion with the peace proposals published by Lord Tavistock last week, the following statement was approved by the executive committee of the Peace Pledge Union on Friday:

The renunciation of war, and the belief that its inhumanity and devastation cannot be justified by its results, is still the basis of the Peace Pledge Union's propaganda.

The PPU must therefore be interested in proposals for negotiation, no matter from what source, if they can be accepted as genuine, and as offering an equitable basis for negotiated peace.

The organization has had no part in obtaining the proposals published by Lord Tavistock. It has received reports of his activities through individual members who were in touch with him.

Ten days before these proposals were made public the Executive of the PPU expressed the view, that if these proposals were authentic and genuine in intention they should be made public through a fully accredited neutral channel.

The general public would then have an opportunity of judging them and the Union would be prepared to urge that they be given the fullest and most careful consideration.

## Never Pro-Nazi

The PPU desires to make clear that it has never been in any sense pro-Nazi. It has supported German demands for economic equality which it believes reasonable, but it has never ceased to criticize the principle of totalitarianism, the suppression of personal liberty, and racial discrimination. The belief of the PPU that war cannot right these wrongs does not mean that it does not recognize them as wrongs.

The PPU has maintained a home for Basque children, it has helped Austrian, German and Czech refugees, and it has opposed anti-Semitism in every form. It has in the past publicly dissociated itself from those bodies whose support of German

claims has seemed to be based on sympathy with Nazi ideology and methods of government.

If the proposals made through Lord Tavistock are shown to be mere propaganda designed to assist Germany as a belligerent then the Union can give them no support.

If they are genuine then it has the responsibility, shared by all who desire peace, of urging that they be fully and carefully considered.

## Pacifist Service Schemes Under Way

The Pacifist Service Bureau announces progress with two schemes.

The Moore Place Settlement has now been started, and several pacifists are already there prepared for hard work under hard conditions. Moore Place is a small-holding of fourteen acres; there is a Tudor house in need of structural repairs, as well as out-buildings and sheds which could be used for many practical cultural activities.

It is hoped that the Lincolnshire Farm Training Scheme will be started next month. Its purpose is to give a short practical training to the many pacifists who wish to work on the land, not only at the present time but as a permanent occupation.

Further particulars of both schemes can be obtained from the Bureau at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. (The Pacifist Service Bureau aims not merely to offer alternative service, but to give pacifists a chance of serving humanity at large in which they themselves feel to be of real constructive value).

Readers are also strongly advised to inquire of the Bureau for information concerning any of the many community schemes and proposals with which they are not acquainted before committing themselves to participation or support.

## 1,549 Sign Labour Peace Petition

THE peace petition to Labour Party leaders, organized by Mr. W. C. Elliott, of Redhill, Surrey, has been signed by 1,549 members of the Party.

A conference of pacifist members of the Party is to be held in the King's Weigh House, Binney Street, Oxford Street, W.1. (opposite Selfridge's) tomorrow (Saturday) at 3 p.m.

# FLAPDOODLE

We went lately to a political meeting. The speakers were eloquent and, we are sure, sincere: but much of their rhetoric was marred by unduly candid comments from the gallery. When, for instance, a young man spoke of the righteousness of war and of his readiness to serve when his time came, there were inquisitive shouts of "Why wait?" Any passage that rose above the strictly prosaic, however faint the tinge of purple, provoked the definitive summary of one word: flapdoodle. "A task we must not lightly lay aside. (Flapdoodle.)" "The forces of right and justice must ultimately and inevitably prevail. (Flapdoodle.)"

It is an engaging word, but we got a little tired of it; and the subsequent cries of "chuck him out," while not entirely consistent with that spirit of humane tolerance which is the pride and boast of the party holding the meeting, seemed to us justifiable.

We hope you aren't tempted to cry "Flapdoodle" when we extol the advantages of investment in St. Pancras Building Society: for we are telling the plain truth. Four per cent. free of income tax on a redeemable investment is a superlatively good return. But we shall not offer it after March 31st!



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## Our Gauleiters for Good?

"THESE 'Provincial Governors' are called 'Regional Civil Defence Commissioners.' Their powers are significantly defined, in the official Home Office document fixing the terms of their appointment, as being those of 'assuming, in the event of complete interruption of communications, for as long as may be necessary, the functions of the central Government itself.'"

"Every inhabitant of Britain comes under the control of one of these 12 men. In time of emergency, obedience to their orders is secured by all the penalties that defiance of the Government entails. Yet not one British subject in ten knows the name, or seat of office, of the Gauleiter under whose authority he lives."

"To this extent has the national emergency already set its enduring mark upon us. By the end of the war such powers will have become familiar and are likely to be maintained."

—G. Ward Price in the *Daily Mail*, February 27.

\*"Gauleiter"—Nazi district leader.



# TOWARDS THE A.G.M.

## More Views from Area Representatives

We print on this page further contributions from area representatives on the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, in which they look toward the PPU annual general meeting, to be held on April 27 and 28. A further selection of short articles on this subject will appear in future issues.

From **GEORGE M. LI. DAVIES**  
(Wales)

**PEACE-WORKERS** in Wales are realizing that conversion from war to peace means far more than "signing the pledge," and that it involves, in attitude and action to society and to one another, a spirit which is distinctive and difficult.

Actually the first step of refusal of military service has been taken in Wales by a number greater in proportion than in any part of the country. Some of the University and Theological Colleges are strongholds of pacifism, and peace groups are springing up steadily in rural and industrial villages. Recent public peace meetings brought together large and earnest gatherings of young and older people. Even among non-pacifists in Wales there is a spirit of anxious and tolerant quest for the more excellent way. It is coming to be realized, too, that the easy projection of blame and responsibility upon governments and systems is not good enough to warrant self-righteousness among Pacifists and to set us

Compounding for the sins we are inclined to by damning those we have no mind to.

There is a call to study and to shoulder our share of responsibility for action or inaction in the political, industrial, spiritual and personal causes of the hostilities we find at home or abroad. Those of us who have been working for Peace for twenty years, or in the Distressed Areas for ten years know the open opportunities for personal service and fellowship that lie at our doors in Wales. We realize how many personal responsibilities have been neglected while men watched and waited for some new system or fought for some new ideology. A venture by two friends, who had relinquished large-scale industrial leadership to help in the Distressed Areas, has brought about free and friendly association with some ten thousand unemployed men, and women and children who help in various groups to help one another. It was not the whole world, nor an ideal world to begin at, but it was a real world in the sense of personal need and personal service and affection.

Unless we become a completely totalitarian State according to Continental models there is always the opportunity for voluntary improvisation and initiative in facing and tackling the open needs and causes of alienation and strife. The iron hand of the State has too often quelled consciences but so have parties and Unions that content their members with a mass-average of conduct and achievement. Big schools and big churches have often assisted this moral standardization. Extra-mural education has done something to open adult minds to the causes of the problems today, but the prospect is dark unless an extra-mural Christianity can give heart and head, faith and courage to tackle such portion of the problem as is within personal reach and compass. Some of us feel acutely the immediate need of our isolated and lonely young COs who have accepted alternative service from the tribunals. To sustain their fledgling faith, to assist them to find useful work in fellowship, to demonstrate that pacifism is more than the self-righteous egotism and negativism which our

critics attack, seems to be an urgent task that is close to our hand.

From **W. J. PARKIN**  
(Bristol)

**IN** recent weeks, the Peace Pledge Union has been subjected to strong criticism both from members of Parliament and from the tribunals.

The result of this criticism and of the public attention which has been directed to our activities will probably be that the doings of the Annual General Meeting will be watched more closely than usual by outsiders. I have no doubt that the reason for this outburst against the PPU is that its influence is becoming strong enough to embarrass the authorities. There have been hints from several quarters not only of restrictions being imposed on certain "traitorous" actions, but of the possibility of the law being amended so as to withdraw the right of COs to exemption.

Undoubtedly in many cases this criticism is genuine. The growth of pacifist activity is clearly a grave handicap to a nation at war, and the increasing number of COs demanding absolute exemption is naturally regarded as the result of the work of the pacifist societies, but especially of the PPU. A movement of this kind to limit our works is naturally to be expected.

Moreover, if, in the course of the coming months, the war develops, and the military demand for men becomes imperative, it is certain that our pacifist activities will be regarded with even greater suspicion, and that serious attempts will be made both to restrict our work and to antagonize the public against us.

I would suggest, therefore, that the AGM devote the major part of its time to considering how this challenge shall be met. Shall we carry on and intensify our public advocacy of pacifism and our encouragement of those whose principles are against conscription, knowing that that will bring us into increasing disfavour and possibly into conflict with the authorities?

Personally, I feel that we cannot accept any limitations of our right to preach the faith we hold or to encourage and assist those who share that faith. I feel we have a responsibility to society that requires us to challenge all those conceptions and conventions that enable war to

be carried on, and in particular the convention that citizens are under an obligation to place themselves at the disposal of the military authorities whenever their government demands it.

Not only so, but I am convinced that in upholding our right to speak freely on this issue, to organize ourselves for this purpose, and to challenge the actions of our Government, we are fighting for and with all those whose witness has been silenced in the concentration camps of our "opponents" and the military prisons of our "allies."

I recognize, however, that this view may not be shared by all other members, and that there will certainly be some difference of opinion on the method and manner of our public activity. May I appeal, therefore, that the discussion of this issue at the AGM be conducted with tolerance and self-restraint and that we deny ourselves the indulgence of mutual recrimination, that we restrain our zeal for investigation of the management of the PPU affairs and the other minutiae of internal business, that we devote ourselves to the larger issues, and that we only attempt decisions that carry the general assent of the members.

From **EDMUND COCKSEDE**  
(Acting for Ipswich Regional Area)

**IT** has become quite clear to all of us by now that peace or war is a matter of relationships, human relationships, both spiritual and economic.

To have peace we have to build the world upon a new foundation of better relationships. Some of us in this Region, and in particular at the Elmsett Community, feel that it is the work of the PPU and all Christians and pacifists to set about the task, in a practical manner, of building up a solid foundation of real relationships between individuals and groups. In the first place increase the number of groups, open up fellowship in untouched districts; secondly, increase the meetings of the existing groups, that confidence and understanding between individuals may be strengthened. It would be a great practical step if more groups became income-pooling Communities living together and possibly working some land, using their surplus money to provide for those in need through persecution or as a direct result of the war.

The relationship of love and understanding must have something more than just a mental significance. It has also an economic one as well. War itself is the result in the main of wrong economic relationships. We feel that co-operative community is the first step that we can take toward the adjustment of economic relationship between man and man. For the purpose of making such communities possible the minimum of money should be spent on propaganda through leaflets and books and as much as possible devoted to the work of forming the economic foundation of community by purchasing the means of production and providing the necessary capital.

In such communities training in the way of non-violence can be effectively carried on, and

picked individuals found to lead expeditions of service to any point of need.

I would therefore challenge the PPU on behalf of those who feel this way about things; that it considers very seriously the way of community as the most effective step toward peace for all time, peace in human relationships, both material and spiritual.

From **E. C. MADDAX**  
(Devon and Cornwall)

**WHAT** do we mean by pacifism? Is it opposition to war, social conditions, forms of government, or is it a way of life? I believe the generally accepted definition is the latter—of doing unto others as we would have them do unto us—this being expressed in different forms: religious, ethical and political.

There is, however, in such expressions a feeling that each has the only way to achieve pacifism, and I feel that unless we are careful we shall blunder into the chaos that other movements have done—for instance, the present-day Labour Party, which as a movement commenced with a faith, but having abandoned that faith and become purely materialistic, is now of very little use to mankind as a whole.

It is therefore this faith which we must accept as our foundation, and I believe it was faith, and not so much organization, which our leader, Dick Sheppard, wished to build up.

I believe we must have planning committees; by organization I mean bodies with definite rules and regulations and binding conditions. Ours must be built upon faith and trust.

Our first step, therefore, is to get this definite understanding of what we mean by pacifism; having done so, our next step is to realize what acceptance of it really involves. Here I feel so many of us fail. We accept pacifism in relation to war by way of a pledge; but when we come up against obstacles and realize what pacifism means we see so many fail and become "yes-buts."

What, then, does pacifism mean? I venture to suggest three principles: (a) Acceptance of the foundation (faith); (b) Loss of self and supreme sacrifice; (c) Tolerance.

The first I have defined as a faith upon which to build.

The second is more difficult, because, as human beings, we vary so much according to our education, environment and economic life. If, however, we decide to accept the faith, we must do something about it, regardless of consequences, if our faith means anything.

Our task is tremendous, our responsibilities lie heavy. Which is the stronger, self or faith? If the former, then our faith will soon be undermined by these responsibilities and we begin to have doubts; but if it be the latter, then we can meet our responsibilities regardless of the sacrifice demanded.

The third principle (toleration) is one which I feel to be rather lacking in many of us as pacifists. We must learn, therefore, to be more tolerant to each other and agree to disagree on many points on which we at the moment differ.

A tremendous step has already been taken in this respect by the formation of the Forethought Committee.

As the AGM draws near I feel sure there will be much said, and I hope and trust that readers will at least consider the principles I have tried to define as the basis of pacifism, and that when we gather together our criticisms will be constructive and expressed in a spirit of good will.

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#### ESPERANTO

ESPERANTO: Pacifist Esperanto League.—Secretary, W. J. Bridgen, 232, Sellincourt Road, S.W.17. ESPERANTO PRINTING—same address.

#### MEETINGS, &c.

"FEDERAL UNION and Pacifism." Dr. Maude Royden. Economic Reform Club, 26 Grosvenor Place, S.W.1. 2.30 p.m., Saturday, March 9.

#### PERSONAL

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## They Talk in the City

DR. DONALD SOPER'S open air meetings on Tower Hill are well known to Londoners.

Next month will see the fifth anniversary of another similar venture in the City of London.

On Tuesdays and Fridays, from 1 to 2 p.m., the pacifist message is heard from a platform in Finsbury Square. One of the speakers is Mr. Hart, who started the meetings.

Throughout the five years they have been held he has hardly missed a meeting. He estimates that he and his fellow-speakers have obtained 150 to 200 converts to pacifism.

At the Tuesday meetings audiences are very large—last week the attendance was estimated at 500. On Fridays the crowd is somewhat smaller, due to other meetings.

## Changing Scenes at Langham

OF the original party of sixty-four Basque Refugee children which "took possession" of The Oaks in May, 1937, the last batch left during September, 1939.

The National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief, which was responsible for bringing four thousand of these children to England, had temporarily placed the children in a camp at Southampton. An outbreak of typhoid at the camp led the Committee to make frantic appeals for help in properly housing the children, and offered to extend financial assistance to those who would take over some of the children, should the need subsequently arise.

The PPU was early in the field in offering "The Oaks," and during the two and a quarter years' occupation by the children, upwards of £7,000 was subscribed by PPU members towards their maintenance, this sum being short of the actual expenditure by about £400.

### Appeal Turned Down

Over two years of incessant wear and tear by this small army of youngsters, had knocked the gloss off the paint and the stuffing out of the mattresses to the tune of about £500. After long negotiations, the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief has recently "turned down" our appeal for financial assistance in meeting the cost of dilapidations. I can only assume that the reason for this treatment is that we are pacifists.

We are thus left with the responsibility of meeting this extra charge. But you will have gathered from Max Plozman's recent articles in *Peace News*, that any monies paid towards the costs of the dilapidations would serve the double purpose of financing the new "Voluntary Service Scheme" at The Oaks. Max Plozman did not tell you of the lead he has given by evacuating himself and wife from Golders Green to The Oaks, nor that his son similarly evacuated himself from his studies at Oxford, and that the three of them are sharing things (mainly hard work) with the rest.

So the scene is changing. We members of the PPU responded to the call for help from the Basque children. We now have in our own ranks, refugees from the existing order of war and pacifist exploitation. These need our help in no less degree.

### Our Responsibility

We in the PPU have the advantage of a large membership, and in concerns such as these, our individual contributions need only be small. Several members of my own group are giving their shillings or shillings a week to the "Voluntary Service Scheme" as they did to the Basque Fund. £3 a month is already being subscribed, and the amount is increasing.

One can begin to juggle with such figures. One hundred groups at £3 a month—£3,600 a year. Fifteen hundred groups of £2 a year—£3,000, and so on. The wide possibilities of such a scheme must not be handicapped by lack of funds. Debentures, £5 or £25 Shares in this concern are not being offered; but you are invited to take a share of the responsibility of helping these our own people not only to plough the land and sow and reap the harvest, but to sow for the future the seeds of that way of life that shall do away with the occasion for all wars.

FRANK B. MIDDLETON,  
PPU Accountant.

## John Barclay on

## THE PACIFIST REVOLUTION

THE social revolution is intensifying and unless the pacifist keeps abreast and ahead of things it may easily degenerate into a violent civil war.

The attacks now being made on our movement by the National Press indicate that apprehension exists in certain quarters. The method adopted is that of associating us with the British Union or the Communist Party. It is probable that members of both these bodies have joined our groups in order to advocate their own particular brand of "Peace" from within, but there is no connexion, either official or unofficial, between us.

We are far more revolutionary than either and our methods are poles apart. No self-respecting Fascist could be a pacifist and I do not understand how a Communist could for a moment accept our philosophy of non-violence. The clear road for the pacifist is straight ahead and by rapidly out-distancing the others, silence for ever the criticism of those who say we are bed-fellows.

The social revolution is in need of leaders: it is drifting aimlessly from one rock to another and may find no course open but disintegration. At this point, surely, it is for us as pacifists to be willing to give ourselves wholeheartedly to the

task of re-establishing a society on the basis of Principle rather than Expediency and by methods of sanity instead of madness.

The PPU has need of all its groups. Only by the widest distribution of literature and by perpetual meetings can we hope to divert the threatened collapse.

That we can do it I am convinced. It calls for sacrifice and a willingness to suffer the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune." If I could touch the hearts of those who are more generously blessed with this world's goods, I would ask them to give us the money needed for still greater efforts.

Do not believe the tales of Moscow gold; the gold ingots have been sunk on the way, and the wealth from Hitler's strong-box has miscarried in the post. We are entirely dependent on the generosity of our members and their generosity is magnificent. It is the poorest who give most. Please help to combat a gross exaggeration and misrepresentation that is becoming a daily feature of certain sections of the Press by giving us your purse. One gift or £100 is a tonic and goes so much further than good wishes.

Don't forget the Queen's Hall meeting on Saturday at 3 o'clock. You will not be disappointed, so bring your friends. Cancel the cinema this week and let us have the money saved. The pacifist revolution will begin to mean something as soon as it means something to you.

## What the Groups are Doing

ON February 27 the Bermondsey group in conjunction with the NCL held a semi-public meeting in the group headquarters at the Labour Institute, Fort Road. Andrew Stewart gave a rousing address on the "Pacifists Task Now."

He emphasized the need for increased energy and more enthusiastic propaganda on the part of local groups, and pointed out that we would do well to confine our propaganda to five main points, or rather four points arising from the first issue of stopping this war, and then (1) Immediate steps towards disarmament; (2) Renunciation of Imperialism and Imperialistic interests; (3) Renunciation of National sovereignty; (4) Close economic collaboration between workers and exploited people of all nations.

Mr. Stewart showed that the capitalist state of society had failed, and was now making insane and futile efforts to maintain itself. He pointed out very clearly that, while keeping in view our ultimate goal of pure Pacifism and pure Socialism, we should educate the masses towards the initial steps which conformed roughly to his four points.

Mr. Stewart's address was deeply appreciated, and he was asked to give another address in the near future. It was pointed out, during general discussion, that *Peace News* ought to cater more for the mass of "unconverted" and less for the sincere pacifist. A collection was taken and sent to Mr. Stewart for the *Peace News* fund.

On February 24 the Bermondsey group held its fourth consecutive public open-air meeting in the local market place. It was easily the most successful meeting yet, and was attended by about 200 people. Four group members (Bernard Taylor, Geoffrey Gilbert, John Daldry, and W. Elliott) addressed the meeting, and it has been resolved to carry on with his activity regularly.

### Premier's "Rivals" in Birmingham

BETWEEN seventy and eighty women demonstrated in Birmingham on February 24, and over 50 men lined the route selling *Peace News*.

It was a most appropriate day because the Prime Minister was speaking in the Town Hall, and those who went into town to see the Prime Minister also saw the demonstration.

DR KATHLEEN RUTHERFORD was unable to be present at the Women's Peace Campaign meeting in Sheffield owing to illness, and sent her apologies. Stuart Morris addressed the meeting, which, taking into consideration the inclement weather, was very well attended. The National Peace Council's resolution was passed unanimously.

Twenty-nine women took part in a procession preceding the meeting, and most of the main streets were covered.

### Oldham Women's Meeting

A CROWDED audience listened to a plea for peace negotiations now at a Women's Peace Campaign meeting in Oldham.

The speakers were Mrs. Helen Byles Ford, a member of the Society of Friends, and Mrs. Doris Langley Moore. The Rev. Kathleen M. Hendry was in the chair.

### New Group in Lancashire

A NEW PPU group has been started at Shaw (Lancs.). Mr. Joseph Holroyd addressed its first meeting, and there was considerable enthusiasm. It was suggested that the new group should study Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means*. The group hopes to be able to establish a centre in Shaw.

### Birmingham Youth Parliament

AT the Birmingham Youth Parliament held on February 17, an emergency resolution proposed by John Bigby on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union was carried. The resolution called for an immediate cessation of hostilities and the convening of a Peace Conference, to be held at once.

The Youth Parliament was held in Birmingham University under the patronage of prominent local citizens. Young people, numbering nearly 300, represented most of Birmingham's youth organizations. Three Bills—they dealt with India, Education and the Factory Acts—were discussed and young members of the PPU spoke on all of them.

### "Major Barbara" at Nottingham

THE Group Theatre, with a cast drawn mainly from PPU and Student Pacifist ranks gave an excellent performance of Shaw's provocative play *Major Barbara*, under the able production of Maurice Keeley, for the benefit of PPU funds, on Friday and Saturday, February 16 and 17.

### Newcastle to Train Sellers

THE formation of a training class for *Peace News* sellers as well as a Research Bureau were the outcome of a discussion on "Methods of Propaganda" led by Alice Auld in Newcastle-upon-Tyne last Friday.

Quotation of authority and fuller use of debates in the training of speakers were also considered. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Arthur Raistrick.

## Easter Cards

The Bournemouth Regional Committee has prepared an attractive card for sale among the members of the PPU. It is 5 inches by 4 inches in size and has a black and white drawing on the cover with the inscription "Come let us reason together."

Inside is a message from George Lansbury, written especially for the card. The price is 2d. Send cash with orders to cover cards and postage. Any profits will be divided between Headquarters and the Region. Orders should be addressed to Winifred Laurie, 8 St. Albans Crescent, Charrminster, Bournemouth, Hants.

## Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion.

Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

### Today (Friday)

BRISTOL: 7.45 p.m. Crispin Rooms, High Street, Kingswood; Alderman G. Shallard on "Power"; PPU.

### Tomorrow (Saturday)

BOLTON: 2 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Tipping Street; Wilfred Wellock and Dr. A. D. Belden; chairman: J. J. Steele; PPU. COALVILLE: 2.45 p.m. Adult School Hall, Bridge Road; "Negotiate now for a just peace"; C. G. White and W. Archer (chairman); PPU. GRAVESEND: 3 p.m. Clock Tower; mass *Peace News* selling; PPU. KETTERING: 2.30 p.m. Massed selling of *Peace News*.

LONDON, W.1: Queen's Hall; PPU meeting; see page 1. NEW BARNET: 5 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; conference for prospective COs; short talks by men who were COs in 1916-1919; Advisory Bureau for COs.

NOTTINGHAM: 6 p.m. Shakespeare Street Methodist Church; "The Pacifist in Wartime"; Rev. David Parton, Rev. W. P. Bates and Rev. Cyril Newman; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

RAWTENSTALL: 3.30 p.m. Springside School; Federation meeting; 6.15 p.m. John Barclay; PPU.

WORCESTER: 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; Gerald K. Hibbert on "The Maintenance of our Ideals"; PPU.

### Sunday, March 10

BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m. Bull Ring; mass "Stop the War" meeting; Captain Hilditch, Herbert Whalley, Sydney Conbeer, Ronald Hands; PPU.

CARDIFF: 3 p.m. Transport Hall, Charles Street; Women's Conference; 5 p.m., tea; 6.30 p.m., public meeting; Sybil Morrison, Rosalind Bevan, Mrs. H. Lewis and Richard Bishop; Women's Peace Campaign.

DURHAM: 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wharton Park; Dr. Arthur Raistrick on "Negotiate Peace Now"; PPU.

EASTLEIGH: 7.30 p.m. Emmanuel Baptist Church; Gwen Bagwell and Ronald S. Mallone on "Can we negotiate a just Peace Now?" PPU.

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Anniesland Co-operative Hall, Linden Place, Temple; Professor G. H. Macgregor and W. Oliver Brown on "The Case for Negotiation Now"; PPU.

LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Hall, Fenton Street; Dr. Belden and Rev. E. P. Wilcock (chairman); PPU.

MANCHESTER: 3 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Downing Street; Mr. Sloane, MP, Will Morris, James Norbury; No Conscription League.

PENDLETON: 2.45 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Broughton Road; Wilfred Wellock and Miss Annie Smith; PPU.

SCUNTHORPE: 7.30 p.m. Kinsley Hall, Pole Street; film: *Kameradschaft*; speaker: Rev. A. E. Hosier; PPU.

WESTHOUGHTON: 8 p.m. Palace Cinema, Church Street; Andrew Stewart, Wilfred Wellock and Rev. F. B. Hamkinson (chairman); PPU.

### Monday, March 11

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Sparkhill Congregational Church Hall, Stratford Road; Rev. Percy Harthill, Mr. Joseph Southall and Rev. A. C. Robinson (chairman); "Stop the War and Negotiate Now"; P.P.U.

MAIDSTONE: 7.30 p.m. Unitarian Hall; Basil Paining and Rev. Medd on "Negotiate Now"; PPU.

ROMFORD: 8 p.m. Church House, Wykeham Hall; John Barclay; PPU.

### Tuesday, March 12

CROYDON: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Park Lane; "The Bases of a Future Peace"; Miss Edith M. Pye, Mrs. Grindley and Cnr. Miss Glazier (chairman); Women's International League.

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Central Halls, Bath Street; Rev. Henry Carter and Rev. R. Gordon Cameron; Church of Scotland Peace Society and Society of Friends.

KEIGHLEY: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, North Street; Rev. Leslie Artingstall; FoR and PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster; "A New World Order"; see p. 2.

LONDON, W.1: No members meeting this week at Dick Sheppard Memorial Club on account of National Peace Council meeting in Central Hall.

TOWER HILL: 12.45 p.m. Open-air meeting; Maurice Rowntree; City PPU group.

### Wednesday, March 13

BALHAM: 8 p.m. Small Trevenna Hall, Boudaries Road; Murdoch McKenzie on "The No Conscription League"; PPU.

BROMLEY: 8 p.m. 13 London Road; Maurice Rowntree on "From War to Peace"; PPU.

HAYWARDS HEATH: 3 p.m. Broadway Café; 7.30 p.m. The Perrymount Library; Miss Agatha Harrison on "The Problem of Indian Self-Government"; Peace Group and Women's International League.

KENDAL: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Rev. A. D. Belden and W. E. Wilson (chairman); PPU.

STOURBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Scotts Road; W. H. Butler on "Work of FAU in last War"; PPU.

YEOVIL: 7.30 p.m. The Park School, Park Road; Laurence Housman and Stanley Hargreaves (chairman); United Pacifists Group.

### Thursday, March 14

CAMBRIDGE: 8 p.m. Guildhall; Mary Gamble and Wilfred Wellock on "Is a Negotiated Peace Possible?"; PPU.

### Friday, March 15

STRATFORD: 8 p.m. Stratford Institute, Romford Road; Andrew Stewart, E. C. Redhead, Rev. Bryan H. Reed and Alderman T. E. Groves (chairman); PPU.

## p.p.u. bookshop

### NEW P.P.U. PAMPHLETS

The Human Person and Society, by Eric Gill. 3d.

The First Bond of Peace pamphlet, to be followed by others, by Canon Charles Raven, Wilfred Wellock and J. Middleton Murry.



### FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO BE FULLY INFORMED

Appellate Tribunal. Comments on the December sitting of the Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors, with several cases reported in full. Central Board for Conscientious Objectors. 6d.

Obtainable from P.P.U. Literature Department, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1





Off to the Parliamentary Ball  
Cartoon by DENIS TEGETMEIER

Dr. Alfred  
Salter, M.P.

## IT DEPENDS ON YOU! (continued from page 1)

brethren in Europe and to let him know their attitude towards mediation and a Conference called by neutrals. He asked for a united appeal by all the Christian Churches of the world. The Scandinavians met immediately and the Bishop of Oslo came over by air to England to consult religious leaders here.

Then a conference was summoned in Holland at The Hague at which all the European Protestant Churches, including the German Confessional Church, were represented. The Archbishop of York flew from Britain to attend. After hearing from the conference and after receiving reports through the embassies of several neutral states, Mr. Roosevelt decided to send his Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Sumner Welles, to Europe to make first-hand inquiries from the belligerent governments as to the terms in which they would be willing to have an armistice and then a conference to thrash out the details of a peace settlement. Mr. Welles has now been in Europe for over a week.

### Peace Terms

That is the position at the moment—or part of the position.

I have seen a document, communicated through a member of a neutral Government, which contained a series of proposals, said to have been agreed both by neutrals and by Hitler, which might well form the basis of discussion at a World Conference.

On February 7 the News-Chronicle printed a cable from its well-known and reliable Special Correspondent in New York, that the scheme was to be presented to the Allies by a neutral State, and a series of six proposed articles was

set out. The BBC mentioned this in the 6 o'clock news, but suppressed it in that at 9 o'clock and has never referred to it since. Neither has any newspaper.

But that document is now in the hands of Roosevelt, and that is one reason why his Secretary is touring Europe and securing opinions as to whether the proposals will be accepted as a starting point.

Roosevelt, with a forthcoming Presidential Election in view, cannot afford to risk a rebuff or a failure. If Germany and the Allies will accept the articles as a basis of discussion, America and the neutrals will call a conference and an armistice can be arranged. Germany is reported unofficially to have accepted and in every neutral country it is well known that a reasonable peace can be secured the moment Britain and France are ready to negotiate. Everything now depends on Britain. There will be no conference if Britain refuses.

The story of Lord Tavisstock's experiences with the British Government when he secured a statement from the German Embassy in Dublin (in all essentials identical with the document referred to above) does not encourage the hope that the Allies will be willing to stop the war until Germany is starved and crushed. Mr. Chamberlain declined to see a deputation of Peers and MPs who desired to urge him to consider the proposals and to accept mediation by neutrals.

The Censor refused to allow Lord Tavisstock's article to appear in the press unless there was added a paragraph, prepared by the Foreign Office, deliberately intended to discredit him and his associates. The newspapers, with the exception of the Telegraph and the Daily Herald, refused the Censor's terms and consequently published nothing. The Daily Express even suppressed the article after it had been set up in type!

The subsequent disclaimer from Dublin was obviously a diplomatic move, as Germany cannot afford a public snub before Sumner Welles has finished his tour and has reported to Roosevelt.

### Up To You!

Whether our government decides to fight to the bitter end in order to enforce a dictated peace depends on British public opinion. You and the millions like you must settle that issue.

A dictated peace is always a bad peace and is invariably unjust. It has been said that victory is the greatest disaster that can befall a nation, for no nation and no statesmen are virtuous enough to lay down peace terms to a vanquished foe. Certainly Versailles proved that!

At the projected peace conference there will be present the neutrals as well as the belligerents, with probably America presiding. The very constitution of such a conference would secure equitable terms as well as the imposition of conditions which would go far to prevent any recurrence of war or aggression.

All the neutrals in Europe are desperate for peace and were making moves in various directions before America took up the task. The poor little countries, whose interests we are supposed to be championing in this war, are praying us to shut down the conflict and make peace. They are being ruined and reduced to beggary. Germany is torpedoing their ships and we are hold-

## "Peace News" Sellers in Court

THE "police swoop" on sellers of Peace News and other literature in London on Sunday afternoon, which Monday's daily papers made much of, became a series of rather ordinary "obstruction" cases in Marlborough Street police court on Monday morning.

An evangelist and two sellers of Action were each fined 2s. 6d., though they all denied obstruction. The other seven people charged were all members of the Peace Pledge Union who had been selling Peace News or giving out leaflets.

Only one of these cases was dealt with, however, the others being remanded for a week, at their own request, to obtain legal assistance. It is expected that the National Council for Civil Liberties will assist in the defence on Monday.

Kathleen Evelyn Savage, of Chelsea, was charged with "wilfully obstructing the free passage of the footway at Marble Arch"—as were all the subsequent defendants—and the case against her was that she was one

of about 40 people "bunched together" selling papers or other literature, and that though she moved away when told to by the police, she and others returned ten minutes later.

The police evidence was substantially the same in the other cases, but in Miss Savage's case the magistrate, Mr. Sandbach, accepted her defence that though the policeman might have told her to go away, she certainly didn't hear him do so, but obeyed when he told her to move off the pavement. The case was dismissed, although the magistrate declared there had been "a technical offence."

The magistrate pointed out, in another case, that the defendant was not being fined for selling her paper, but for causing an obstruction.

Those who were remanded were: Margaret Boyd, Stanley Smith, Victor Harding, Ernest Slattery, David Spreckley, and Clifford Munton.

## WOMEN'S PEACE PETITION

Sybil Morrison, Secretary of the Women's Peace Campaign, writes:

We want millions of signatures from women to a simple petition to the Government: "Stop the war and meet together to discuss peace." Not only can valuable use be made of the actual signatures by bringing to the notice of the Government the extent of opinion opposed to the continuance of this war, but there is the added value of pacifist propaganda in the work of securing those signatures.

Conviction, knowledge and enthusiasm are needed for this effort. Perhaps it seems no very glorious adventure to keep one's foot in the crack of a closing door, but it may mean the greatest adventure of all; life instead of death.

### Leap Year Dance

A Leap Year Dance organized by the National Council of Civil Liberties and the Artists' International will be held in the Westminster Palace Rooms, 44 Victoria Street, on March 15. Dancing will be continuous from 8 p.m. to 1 a.m., and there will be a licensed bar. Tickets (3s. 6d. single and 6s. double) are obtainable from the NCCL, 37 Great James Street, Bedford Row, W.C.1.

## A Serial Conference CAN THE WAR STOP?

EASTER

22nd to 25th March

AT

Basque House,  
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Details and Booking Forms are obtainable from the Secretary, The Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, London, W.1.

## PEACE NEWS

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Last week's donation to "Peace News" Fund:  
£12 12s. 5d.  
Total of "Peace News" Fund to date:  
£526 15s. 2d.

The Peace News fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy paid to Peace News. Though the paper is now self-supporting, the debt for the subsidy paid over several months remains, and we would therefore welcome donations of any size to enable us to pay it off as soon as possible. Individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to Peace News, Ltd., and not to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war: and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implicit therein or PPU connexion with the matter advertised.) Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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